

We may be left temporarily in peace to enjoy our revolutionary social and economical system, while the rest of Europe continues to groan under a capitalism and monarchism which perhaps, for the time being, will be purged to a too dangerous imperialism.

What will Russia do if this be so?

Short-sighted men reply: Cherish your own revolution; thank Heaven you are better off than the rest of the world; and let the rest of the world do what it likes.

But, we Bolsheviks are against such a policy. Short of armed pressure against any European country, we shall not shrink from measures necessary for spreading our revolution in the world.

The motives why every Bolshevik must approve of this policy are overwhelming. The first is that a peace between the ideas of revolutionary Russia and the ideas of non-revolutionary Europe could at best be a truce.

Each side would foster its ideas and prepare for a future struggle, and since non-revolutionary Europe will always be better armed than pacifist Russia, the European despots (as soon as they have recovered from their present bitter lesson of the meaning of war) undoubtedly would hurl themselves upon Russia, in order to wipe away the one revolutionary plague-spot.

For that reason our revolution cannot rest until it has established full revolution in all neighbor lands.

#### Must Extend Anti-Capitalism Abroad.

The second reason why Russia must incite Europe to revolt is that by its very nature, the revolution cannot live in isolation.

Europe must be organized, either on a capitalistic basis or a proletarian, anti-capitalistic basis. The dual system is inconceivable. It is impossible for Russia to exist without capitalistic banks and industries, if she has to trade with countries which still have capitalistic banks and industries.

Existence side by side with two inimical economical systems would be possible if Russia had no relations with the rest of the world. But this would be a negation of the international brotherhood which is the Bolsheviks' main aim.

Russia, far from cutting herself off from the rest of the world, must enter into closer and closer re-

lations with it. And as these close relations must be largely trade relations, it follows that the world must have an identical and homogeneous economical system.

As the Russian revolution will never restore capitalism at home, it follows that we must campaign for the extension of anti-capitalism abroad.

But the revolution has other aims in the international sphere. It must struggle against foreign monarchism and feudalism. Against monarchy we are firm; the fact that masses of Russians today, months after the irrevocable abolition of the Czarism, parade our streets with banners inscribed, "Down With Monarchism!" is significant.

#### King as Dangerous as Black Death.

There is now no monarchy in Russia to destroy. But our people, eager for the dissemination abroad of the principle which has triumphed at home, desire passionately to see foreign monarchies destroyed.

This is a healthy instinct with, I am convinced, a real foundation. I do not believe the monarchs of Europe will have the courage to attempt to set back upon a Russian throne the abolished dynasty of the Romanoffs. But monarchism is an infectious disease and it will be a menace to Russia as long as our dispossessed agrarian and capitalistic classes see, in a monarchical restoration, a last hope of regaining their privileged positions.

Today the Black Death is merely a subject of historical inquiry, but as long as a single case occurred in Europe it was rightfully a cause of universal dread. So it is with kings. One is as dangerous as fifty.

The same is true of feudal land owning. Within a few weeks, certainly within a few months, we shall see the end of this system at home. Self-preservation demands that we work for its destruction abroad.

In its own defense the revolution must propagandize and convert. It must incite and urge on the masses against their present rulers in all countries, and it must do this unshrinkingly, without fear of consequences, or consideration for the feelings and interests of the foreign affected parties.

This is the chief function of the revolution in the future. It is also the revolution's supreme test of vigor and of fitness for life.—Reprinted from Chicago Eye Opener of Feb. 16, 1918.

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## "IDEAS of RUSSIA'S REVOLUTION"

By NIKOLAI LENINE

(Translated from the Russian by Robert Crozier Long, for many years Petrograd correspondent of the Chicago Examiner.)

Russia's revolution is not a domestic revolution, but essentially a world revolution. Therein lies not only its future, but also its present, inasmuch as it is impossible to understand our parties and their principles unless one realizes the sharp division between those men who see the revolution as a world-event and those who see it merely as a local and Russian event.

The difference between the Bolsheviks and all the other Russian parties, Socialist or bourgeoisie, lies therein. The Bolsheviks are the true internationalists. They alone desire to see the revolution's ideas spread throughout the world.

With this aim they resolved from the first to pursue an active and aggressive policy, while many of our Socialists, who call themselves "menshevik-internationalists," are not internationalists at all, are but content to keep the revolution at home.

They shrink from pushing class warfare and the war against capitalism into the allied countries—though some of them, characteristically, are ready to push the class-war in enemy countries. This accords with their fundamentally nationalist tenets, shown also in their willingness to continue the war against a single group of states.

#### Revolt Must Crush Opposing Ideas.

The Bolsheviks follow a consistent policy. They realized long ago that the revolution, the primarily political, must become economical and socialistic. They know that economy and Socialism have nothing to do with racial or political boundaries and that the future of our revolution must therefore be international. The revolution must pass over all political and racial frontiers and crush opposing economical ideas.

They know that a state organized on socialistic and pacifist lines cannot exist if it is hemmed in by capitalistic and militarist states.

Russia's revolution must follow the law of all healthy organisms. It must increase. If it does not increase it will decline.

Of that we find sufficient proof in history; we have, in fact, an exact parallel with the great revolution of France. The great revolution of France was, in the main, a political revolution and a revolution of ideas. France discovered by bitter experience that she could not keep her revolution at home unless she exported it abroad.

The reasons of this were two:

First, because, by the law of growth, French revolutionary ideals and methods naturally spread to neighboring countries. Secondly, because neighboring countries (that is, their monarchs and oppressive statesmen) would have none of these ideals.

#### French Revolution Aroused Monarchies.

Naturally a conflict spread, in which we find the whole of monarchist Europe leagued in arms to suppress the great revolution and to restore there the system which still survived in the monarchial countries.

The enemies of the French revolution ascribed the conflict not to any enmity in France's neighbors against the newly won French liberties; but, on the

contrary, to the aggressiveness of the French in enforcing their ideas on others. They proclaimed that if France would only keep her undesirable revolution and its methods at home, she would not be interfered with.

Which side was right is of no importance. By its very nature the French revolution, with its liberating message winged by its ardent enthusiasm, was bound to move toward self-expansion, and as it also was bound to meet obstacles in the outworn systems and unadaptable political personalities of neighboring states, a collision had to result. The struggle between revolution in France and despotism in Europe could not be avoided.

Once strife was provoked, either the revolution or the despotism had to succumb. In form the revolution succumbed, because monarchy was everywhere retained, but the ideas of revolutionary France won, though they did not come to full fruition until the constitutional outbreaks of the middle of the nineteenth century. As ideas always count for more than form, it may be said that France's revolution triumphed.

#### Russ Revolt to Follow France's Course.

Russia's revolution must take a similar course. But it does not follow that an armed struggle between revolutionary Russia and non-revolutionary Europe will result, and for this reason:

Russia could not logically want to campaign with guns and rifles against Europe in the name of anti-monarchism and anti-capitalism, because by such action she would deny her revolution's origin and its fundamental principles.

It is a mistake to think that the internationalized Russian democracy will ever start upon aggressive warfare merely with the aim of destroying foreign monarchies and foreign capitalism. Such a war could break out only if the existing European despots conspired, as is not impossible, but is unlikely, to crush our revolution to prevent it spreading to themselves.

#### Armed Assistance Not to be Given.

Russia will not attempt to give armed assistance to the proletarian masses of other countries if these, as may soon be the case, take up the struggle against

oppressive capitalism and monarchism. But they will continue to propagandize unshrinkingly in all countries.

From this we may expect one of two results, through either of which our revolution will make world history. These two things are the following:

Firstly, as the Bolsheviks original programme declared (and as the Zimmerwald congress agreed), the spread of anti-monarchical ideas and anti-capitalistic ideas may bring the war to a speedy end.

This is, of course, if the war is not ended before that by hunger and by failure to achieve decisive victory—natural results of the unheard-of blundering of the statesmen on both sides, who proclaimed that they could win decisively in battle, and that they could withstand hunger indefinitely.

Such a peace, enforced by revolting democracy, is the more desirable programme, and it is a function of the Russian revolution by all peaceable means—by speech, by print, by sending emissaries to ally and enemy countries, and by influencing ally and enemy soldiers—to bring a revolutionary peace about.

For this propaganda our revolutionary organizations are thoroughly equipped and they already are carrying on a sharp and active agitation, of which the blind-eyed politicians of the belligerent countries do not realize the importance and are unable to thwart. Here, however, all does depend upon the susceptibility to propaganda of the proletariat in belligerent countries.

#### Hope that Russia Will Be Left Alone.

Success also depends upon the attitude of the ruling class in these countries. It is possible—and this is the second contingency—that these classes, seeing how ill things are going in the war, will sacrifice their imperialistic public greed to their capitalistic personal greed, and that, finding that prolongation of the war must precipitate an economic revolution which will empty their pockets, will voluntarily conclude a general peace.

We have, therefore, to face the contingency that the war (in contra-distinction with Russia's own experience) may not be brought to an end by a European revolution, but that peace may find the greater part of Europe with monarchism and capitalism still in existence.